/77 cont./

585 178 [184] [114] [624] [648] I have not found the marriage performed by the ñanderú and according to the rites of the native religion in any other village, except in the case of the Mbüá of Xapecó already mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the task of the capitão, the latter in a certain way representing the authorities of the civil registry, or in the places in which there is a post, the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. In the village of Rio Branco, Alcides is the one who performs marriages at his /78/ house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

• 595 Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Ñandéva. In a nucleus of the Kayová village of Dourados, there was a man married to three women at one time; they were not related to one another. Viewed with some reprobation by the community, the bigamous men are usually lazy; the heaviest burdens of the domestic economy fall on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "rests," as they say, at the expenses of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of such a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constellation.

586 [182] [581] An index of the social disorganization of the present-day Guaraní, with the exception of the Mbüá, is the lack of stability of the conjugal unions. Among the Ñandéva the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or -- "according to the fight," in the words of João Samuel, Ñandéva from Bananal -- sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Araribá, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the post did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the woman tries to conform to the circumstances, in order not to have the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. Adultery, both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Araribá a married Indian woman, seduced by a

837 [586]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 182 43 181 one sense this is expectable since some of the goods and services which enter into Cayuá dealings with Cayuá are (I. b. and I. e.) such that did not exist aboriginally. It is likely, therefore, that some notion of price was attached to these commodities at the very time they were introduced to the indigenes—or the price connotation of such goods and services soon after became quite apparent to the economically ingenuous Cayuá. The "internal *changa*," one Indian working in the paid employ of another, is thus a type of service which did not exist aboriginally. Likewise, for example, if corn sold by the Cayuá to the trader generally comes to command a certain price, a price or money valuation may also tend to hold in exchanges of corn among the Cayuá themselves. Internal wage-work and internal trade are clear instances of a change in type of economy and in Cayuá economic values, as a result of acculturational causes.[171]

*177 182 462 • 595 II. B. d. "Polygyny: less frequent than aboriginally, possibly nonexistent."[172] The principal reason for the decrease of polygyny among the Cayuá appears to be an economic one. Put most directly, it is that women have become considerably less important economically on the whole, and especially in relation to the increasing economic importance of men. This is best understood as a result of acculturational causes. In the first place is (II. B. a.) the change in the division of labor by sex with men assuming the major role in agriculture. Meanwhile (II. A. a.) agriculture itself becomes much more important. Moreover, agriculture has become increasingly important to the Cayuá, not only as production for direct consumption but also because of (II. A. f.) the exchange of a certain amount of agricultural production for the now essential trade goods. All of these factors have emphasized the male economic role. Running parallel (II. A. d.), native industries have become less important, and some have been lost entirely. Here again the result is that the woman's contribution, as in agriculture, has been diminished. To these reasons for the greatly decreased relative economic importance of women may also be added (II. A. e.) the *changa*, an important form of Cayuá production today which is not even partially the province of the female. Nor, to counterbalance all this, is there any indication of important new lines of economic activity for women.

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[171] In any future trend toward a fuller money barter type of exchange, such Cayuá transactions can become only slightly more frequent. A money circulation type of economy is unlikely—at least until the local Brazilian economy develops to that point. For the Brazilian settlers themselves largely negotiate in terms of a money barter rather than a money circulation, although money does actually circulate more among them as a group than among the Cayuá. The local Neo-Brazilian type of exchange of goods and services is generally comparable to that described by James West for some of the inhabitants of Plainville, U. S. A. (1945). A money reference is widely employed, but little actual money changes hands.

[172] It is not entirely certain just how common polygyny was aboriginally, but there seems little doubt that it existed on some scale. It is difficult, however, to assess the importance of factors responsible for the decrease of polygyny when we do not know the extent of the decrease.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

There can thus be little question that the absolute and relative economic contribution of women to the Cayuá domestic establishment has shrunk notably since aboriginal times. It may surely be questioned whether the woman now "earns her keep" at all, by aboriginal standards. Certainly she is not as great an economic asset to the household as she apparently used to be. One woman is probably all that most Cayuá men can now support; they could scarcely increase their economic means proportionately by marrying a second or a third wife.[173]

In some sense (II. B. e.) the change to a basic elementary family may also be related to the decrease in polygyny. Considering that the marriage of individuals from different families is important as an alliance, it is clear that having several wives would formerly have allied a man (and his extended family) with several extended families. Aboriginally this would have been a significant number—possibly a majority—of the other extended families, the basic social units, of the local group.[174] But with the present elementary family, the polygynous marriage could not nearly achieve connections as inclusive as formerly because of the large number of separate households. Conceivably the change of the function of the marital alliance has affected the decrease of polygyny.

One further possibility of acculturational influence in the decrease of polygyny is (I. a.) the discontinuance of warlike activities. The function of warfare in the aboriginal sex ratio is hard to assess. If there existed Cayuá warfare and ritual cannibalism such as have been described for the Coastal Tupi, it is conceivable that these activities may have affected the sex ratio somewhat and thus would have slightly favored plural female spouses.[175] Hence, any decrease in warfare, which consequently balanced the sex ratio, might exercise a cumulative influence on the frequency of polygyny.

The question naturally arises as to what influence upon the occurrence of polygyny may have been exerted, for ethnocentric and moral reasons, by the Jesuits and the Neo-Brazilians. There does not appear much doubt that the Jesuits insisted that their proselytes be exclusively monogamous; but what residual effect this may have had through the years upon the non-missionized

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[173] At Taquapiri, while we were there, there was no instance of polygyny, although it was said that Inacio, also reputedly the "wealthiest" individual in the village (he had the largest *kokwé*), in the past had more than one wife. Inacio's household, by the way—and this seems only to accord with our contention here—carried on its production and consumption in a manner quite unusual for the rest of the village and much closer to the aboriginal extended family pattern which we have been postulating.

[174] It may thus have been, as is suggested by Kirchhoff for the coastal Tupi (Kirchhoff, 1931, p. 205), that only chiefs (heads of extended families?) as a rule contracted polygynous marriages. As far as the alliance aspect of marriage was concerned, however, the marital connections of the headman would probably apply to the whole extended family unit.

[175] The coastal Tupi also captured female prisoners, to be sure, but probably not as large a number of women were lost to their group this way as were men.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 182 • 595 peoples is open to question. The possibility of such an influence must certainly be kept in mind. As for the Neo-Brazilians, some direct influence against Cayuá polygyny is almost certain, though it has probably been quite limited. It has been limited both because of the ease of concealment from whites by Cayuá of their marital status, and because Neo-Brazilian influence in this respect could only be highly informal under existing conditions and not a matter of concerted action. Our own observations in the field lead to the opinion that the local whites actually have very little correct information of the Cayuá culture. They are to a large extent rather unconcerned about it, except in such matters as the availability of workers for *change* and the suspicion of alleged property depredations by Indians. It seems reasonable, therefore, to consider direct white influences as but one more contributing factor in the decline of polygyny, not a cause set apart by its importance.

*177 182 582 602 II. B. f. "Kinship system: presumptive marital rights of mother's brother to sister's daughter (avuncular marriage) disappear." It has already been suggested that the Cayuá kinship system was aboriginally characterized by the avuncular form of marriage reported for the Coastal Tupi, although the former presence of the usage is not directly borne out by modern kinship practices. (See pp. 34–37.) At present, the mother's brother-sister's daughter marriage not only is not presumptive but is widely considered incestuous. Can we account for such a change in terms of acculturational factors and hence indirectly strengthen our contention of the aboriginal existence of this avuncular form? To do so, we will have to understand something of how the preferential marriage operated.[178]

621 591 The aboriginal Cayuá village was composed of several, rather independent households, each living in a single large dwelling or *tapúi*. Some sort of cohesive force is indicated as a means of linking the various households and lineages of the local Cayuá community. Marital ties are, of course, a well recognized, universal means of social cohesion; in simple communities they are the most important or even the exclusive means of inter-familial alliance. With patrilocal residence (coupled with temporary matrilocality, probably, in the case of a non-avuncular marriage) a completely feasible way of relating households through kinship was the marriage of the sister's daughter to the mother's brother, as shown in Figure 3. When the mother's brother's presumptive marriage was realized during successive generations, or even if it were somewhat less regularly realized, it served the purpose of closely relating one extended household to the other in the local community. With an extended family and a rule of patrilocality, the presumptive spouses came from different households and different extended families. Moreover, all members of Ego's own generation, cross and parallel cousins, at least of the first degree, were classed as siblings.

[178] In connection with the following hypothesis the writer is very much indebted to Professor Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for discussions in which many of the important points were brought out. Some repetition of previous description unfortunately seems unavoidable here.

/39 cont./

584 the initiative falling upon the mother of the girl. They told me
178 that, even when the boy and the girl did not greatly want to marry or even in the case where they were opposed to it, they were forced to satisfy the mothers' wishes. Nowadays the young man first consults the girl about the subject. Once the girl's consent has been obtained, he goes to deal with her father. If the latter consents to it, the marriage ordinarily is realized, but there are also cases in which the young man likewise applied to
585 the girl's mother. The marriage itself does not necessarily need to constitute an occurrence of great repercussion, but many times the brother or the father of the young man organizes a dance feast for the couple; and on this occasion the couple is counseled
[431] by some of the old men in the group. It is not necessary to give presents to the new couple, but the father or any other person
178 may give articles of food, etc. During the earlier period about
591 which I have spoken above, it was customary for the newlyweds to go to live in the girl's house. At that time the Cayuá lived almost exclusively in common houses, so that the couple never left the house of the girl's family. Nowadays a large percentage of the Cayuá own private houses, and if the young man, upon being married, has not yet built a house for himself and his wife, the couple, in theory, lives with the wife's family. Today, however, the cases in which the couple has gone to live in the house of the boy's family are frequent.

595 Monogamy constitutes the general manner of marriage among the present-day Cayuá, although there are no laws against polygamy. I heard mention of only a single case in which one of the men, before the death of his first wife, lived at the same time with another one, by whom he likewise had children. Since the death of the first one, the other one is considered the
836 wife of this man and lives with him. Promiscuity is not common,
837 and it is affirmed that the child of a frivolous woman will be very much a homebody, being obliged not to go into the forest because the jaguars would manage to devour him.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Caingué* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction. 178 881 [756]

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law. 178 582 584

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Caingué*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Union with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruíz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal. 595. [174] [622] [756] 587 622 591

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul. 763 775

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52). 178 152 764

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[4] Modern *Caingué* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk. 178 764

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Caingué* of Paraguay inter the 000

[4] Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: "... muchos enterraban sus muertos en unas grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella concavidad estuviese mas acomodada el alma aunque estas tinajas las enterraban hasta el cuello."